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*The Statutes proposed for the Establishment of  
Two Teacherships of Persian and of Indian  
Languages, and of Two Readerships in Indian  
History and Indian Law.*


DR. ROLLESTON.





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I HAVE here put into print the substance of what I said, May 29, 1877, upon the occasion of the Promulgation in Congregation of four Statutes for the establishment of certain Teacherships and Readerships in what the University Requirements Report [p. 11, March 19, 1877, Separate pamphlet; or Gazette, April 28, 1877, p. 336] calls "Indian Subjects." I have for the sake of brevity omitted certain merely illustrative statements, and I beg herewith to apologize to Members of Congregation for the length of time which these and my other remarks occupied. On the other hand, I have added here and there certain references and notes, some of which I purposely and avowedly omitted for the sake of saving time. At the end of this paper a plan is proposed which would, I think, attain by a sound what the Council has aimed at by an unsound method.

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*Oxford, June 6, 1877.*

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I said that—as regarded the preamble of the first of the four Statutes proposed, which ran thus, "Whereas it is expedient that the University Teacher of Hindustani should give instruction in Persian"—I had upon a former occasion said that the University, with the "Statement of its Requirements," just referred to, before it, ought, before

entering upon any fresh scheme involving a fresh outlay of money, to have a clear conviction that such fresh scheme should take precedence of all others by virtue of its greater urgency. The labour which had been expended upon the compilation of the successive University Requirements Report had been called for by consideration of the inexpediency, not to say injustice, of allowing successive claims to be met and satisfied in the order of their succession, on the principle in fact of "first come first served." These various and multifarious claims ought to be considered with a view to deciding upon their relative, not upon their absolute desirability and urgency.

Secondly, as regarded the particular plans proposed as to the Teacher of Hindustani and the Reader in Indian History, it appeared that the University was asked to reward two individuals who had served her with an unwearied self-devotion, which, going far beyond Statutable requirements, for many years, amounted to chivalry, not by any solid pension, nor by any improvement of their empty titles, but by charging them for life with a largely increased amount of drudgery. The increase of the stipend of the Reader of Hindustani from £225 to £300 amounted to the magnificent sum of £75 per annum, being an increase of 25 per cent; the increase in his duties amounted to 198 hours work, being an increase of more than 50 per cent. This was the way in which the University was asked to deal with "an officer and a gentleman" with whom of course I had had no communication on this question, and they were told that the proposal must be a reasonable one, as he was quite ready to undertake, as indeed he already had spontaneously undertaken, the additional labour proposed for him and his successors.

Thirdly, leaving personal considerations, which, however, the Statute and other speakers introduced, and coming to subjects, I said that it was entirely objectionable to

couple Persian with Hindustani. Persian was a Classical language, with a literature of its own, which had established itself firmly in the affection and memories of all ranks of its own people, and, directly or indirectly, even in our own. The name of Firdusi was connected with that of one of the "five national epics of the world." Hindustani was what Dr. Pusey (Letter, published May, 1875) had called an "illiterate" vernacular language. In the words of Max Müller, (*Times*, Jan. 4, 1858, and April 22, 1876,) "In most countries the spoken language would at once be the key to the literature, and through it to the social, moral, and religious character of a nation. It is not so in India. There the state of literature at the present day is about the same as that of Italy, at or rather before the time of Dante. The spoken language, *il volgare*, is Hindustani, Bengali, or Guzeratti; but the language of literature, law, and religion is still the Classical Sanskrit. . . There are indeed some popular works written in Hindustani and Bengali, and a new literary impulse has of late been given to those vernaculars, by translations of the New Testament, and some of the works of Bacon, Mill, and other English authors; but that literature which really exercises a determining influence on the intellectual life of India is written entirely in Sanskrit, the Latin of that country." Now it was the business of a University to teach such languages as Sanskrit, as Arabic, or as Persian, but not such "illiterate vernaculars" as the dialects of which it had been said that they were "called by excess of courtesy Indian 'Languages.'" I held in my hand the Blue Book, on the Selection and Training of Candidates for the Indian Civil Service,—a Blue Book which contained more sound sense, much or most of it in the evidence of old Oxford and Cambridge men<sup>a</sup>, than any similar volume since the

<sup>a</sup> Among these gentlemen I may mention Messrs. Risley, p. 70, Hobhouse, p. 233, Ibbetson, p. 143, Pedder, p. 277, Luttman-Johnson,



once and deservedly famous, though now seldom mentioned, Report of the University Commission of 1852.

p. 195, Lee-Warner, p. 287, L. A. Campbell, p. 257, H. B. Grigg, p. 257, Maclean, p. 246, Lyall, p. 204, Birks, p. 181, Brandt, p. 256, Galton, p. 248, Burrows, p. 249, Peile, p. 276. It cannot be said that entire unanimity of opinion, even upon large questions, exists amongst these authorities who were once, any more than it does amongst us who are still, residents in one or other of the old Universities. I take this opportunity, however, of citing from amongst them one or two witnesses in favour of my own views upon each of two questions upon which unfortunately as I think some difference of opinion exists at present. The first of these is the liability of the examination system to being carried into excess, and so becoming hurtful; the second is the possibility of attaining some good educational results by attempting something in the way of moral training and supervision. As regards the examination system, the Hon. A. Hobhouse says, p. 238, "I do feel strongly that to keep a man continually under the harrow of examinations is calculated to injure him. Mr. Oldham of the North West Provinces speaks forcibly on this point: "It is good for Schoolboys to examine them in the work of every Term, but the older a man grows, and the wider his studies are, the less fit a subject he is for examination." This is said in the manly as well as scholarly sense of the old saying of Wolf, (*cit.* Arnold, *Schools of Continent*, p. 182, 1870,) "Perversé studet qui examinibus studet." But let us hear Mr. Oldham. He says, p. 107, "For two long years the Selected Candidate lives with a constant and terrible weight over him. . . . The effect of the two years probation on the health and the physical energy of the Candidates I believe to be most injurious. . . . Young men also, if they had been allowed to proceed to India after their first appointment, would have arrived full of vigour and enthusiasm, of mental energy, and of longing to commence the actual business of life, now arrives weary, dispirited, disgusted, and counting the years to their first furlough before they have even commenced work. For the first few years of the competition system before this horrible incubus of the two years probation had been imposed upon the Selected Candidates, it was very different; many of the Selected Candidates of 1855 and 1856, without any preliminary preparation in England, passed in two Indian languages almost immediately after landing, and were engaged in district work before the mutiny commenced in 1857." See also Sir W. Muir, p. 220; and Mr. Melville, p. 127.

As regards the second moot point, the possibility and expediency of providing a system of moral training for young men, Lord Northbrook, the late Viceroy of India, and himself an old Oxford man, p. 228, uses language which clearly indicates that he thinks it a benefit to Students to be "subject to University or College discipline." The Governor of

A further objection lay in the fact that the preamble did not state what seemed to be the most important principle in the Statute, to wit, the establishment of a Long Vacation Term. This particular step had not been once recommended by any one of the multitude of Indian authorities, whose opinions he had read in the Blue Book. In one place, p. 97—98, it was true that a gentleman writing under date Aug. 1, 1875, from Moradabad, was found to say that he supposed the University of Oxford would grant its Degree of B.A. after a residence of two years,—a change correlated in another place with the establishment of a Long Vacation Term, and calculated to make “cramming” even less of a healthy process, and more like the process of stopping a tooth, than it was at present. But this gentleman could not have been aware that in the May of 1875, as appears in the Gazette, May 11, 1875, p. 597, the University was asked to consent to a Deeree, authorising the Vice-Chancellor to request the Secretary of State for India to place the time of selection of Candidates for the Civil Service at an age which would “allow of a three years’ course of study at the University before their going out to India;” a request which the recent regulations, by fixing the minimum competition age at seventeen, the maximum at nineteen, and the latest date for the commencement of Indian Service at twenty-two and a half years, had sanctioned. Nor could the gentleman

Madras, p. 243, writes in the same sense. Mr. Hobhouse, p. 235, par. 12, p. 237, par. 31, on the other hand, would appear to agree with Mr. Hare, p. 196, who considers such arrangements as those alluded to as “grand-motherly care.” Towards the end of the volume, however, at p. 316, we find Colonel Yule speaking somewhat mournfully of his connexion as a student with an “institution where a kind of military spirit and continuous work formed the only salt that kept it from utter badness. The *morale* of the Cadets was a thing utterly uncared for, in fact utterly unrecognised, except occasionally by one or two of the Professors who happened to be also soldiers.”

in question have foreseen any more than I did that the University would in April of 1876 have rejected the Scheme for affiliating certain Colleges to the University, mainly on the ground of its entailing a shortening of residence. As regarded the intercalation of a fourth Term in the Long Vacation, I could say that it was to be deprecated both in the interests of work and of rest. There were present many men who could testify that the requirements upon their time during the Terms were such as to leave them absolutely no opportunities for increasing their own stock of knowledge; and unless a man went on constantly teaching himself, he very shortly became very unfit to teach others. The Long Vacation was the only time in a place with as little of division of labour as Oxford in which any piece of original work, however small, could be successfully attempted. It was a total misnomer to speak of the Long Vacation as being a six months' Vacation, at least in the English Universities; but a clear three months' Vacation from teaching was absolutely necessary for men who had so much to do in the way of teaching and examining during the Terms. A clear three months' Vacation I could with the greatest seriousness and with some considerable experience say to be even more necessary in the very numerous cases of men who get over-worked in this place. Men in this condition did not recover their right tone of mind, nor their normal state of brain, unless they could get a clear interval of some such length from their duties here. We had had abundant experience of this, and so had other Universities<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> I take this opportunity of saying that, whilst I am entirely opposed and for the gravest reasons to shortening the Long Vacation, I am strongly in favour of lengthening our Terms; of course the two ends are compatible, as the subjoined schemes will shew. The Rector of Lincoln, who in his invaluable "Suggestions on Academical Organization,"



It had been repeatedly stated, and by nobody in such emphatic a way as by Professor Monier Williams, that the time requisite for the mastery of the requisite languages could easily be obtained without trenching upon the Long Vacation. His words ran thus in a paper published by him, May 28, 1875, in writing of modern Indian languages he says, "Only one language is required, and this is generally Hindustani. I have thus reduced the list of compulsory subjects to law, political economy, history of India (including some geography), and one modern Indian language. I contend that a two years course is amply sufficient to admit of a solid knowledge of these subjects being imparted to thirty-five or forty picked men—the *élite* of our Universities and Public Schools—who would really be quite competent to pursue their

1868, had said, p. 314, "The Long Vacation affords the only opportunity which an actively-engaged teacher has of refreshing his teaching by a recurrence to its sources," proposes in the very same connexion "a substantial addition to the length of the Academical year." This addition he would attain by having two Terms of residence in the year instead of three; the first of which two Terms should begin 10th of October and end 23rd of December, the second should begin 14th of January and end 1st of June, whilst the Examinations should be held only once in each year and in the month of May. Mr. Kitchin has proposed a somewhat similar plan, and I, with the plans of both of these gentlemen before me, suggested, in a paper published June 9, 1874, a scheme differing in no essential from the Rector's, except in the substitution of the word June for May in his plan as above quoted. A statute drawn up in the sense of some of these suggestions was rejected by the University in the Summer Term of 1874, but this decision is not irreversible. Sir Robert Christison, in a paper on Medical Education published June 30, 1869, in the Medical Council's Report on Professional Education, proposes to rearrange the Sessions for Medical Students, so as to give them two equal Sessions of four months each, with an interval of one month between them. The exigences of the Profession would require, I think, that one month in each of the four months Sessions should be devoted to Examinations. What is of importance is to note that each and all of these plans leave the Long Vacation intact.

studies during the Vacations *alone*, or at least with occasional communications with their teachers. In fact, such men are sure to find time to add optional subjects to the regular list. My experience of fifteen years at old Haileybury College enables me to affirm that a two years curriculum with Vacations nearly as long as ours here was found to be sufficient for the instruction of the nominees of the Directors of the East India Company in three languages, of which Sanskrit was one, besides Classics, Mathematics, Law, History, and Political Economy. If any one doubts the solidity of the instruction imparted, let him look around and observe the eminent men who owe their training to the Old East India Company's College, Haileybury<sup>c</sup>."

I had always advocated any scheme which could be considered likely to give a wider scope to the activities of the University, and thus strengthen her hold upon the affections and respect of the country. There were sound, however, and unsound methods for attaining this general end, as well as the particular end of attracting the selected Indian Candidates.

<sup>c</sup> As regards the principle or major premiss of this argument, viz. that all systems are admirable under which men have been trained who have subsequently become famous, whether in spite of, or because of them, I have to say that it has been and can be as fairly applied to every system and institution which human wit has invented and human endurance tolerated for any considerable time. The question asked by Diagoras, (Diog. Laert. vi. 59,) and endorsed by Bacon, (Nov. Org. 46,) as to the absence of any note τῶν μὴ σωθέντων, applies at least as forcibly to panegyrists of Haileybury, as to those of other Institutions. A few odd stories are commonly current and available on this point, but, as they might be tedious, I content myself with the following wise and judicial summary of the case: "At Haileybury with little nominal liberty there was much of license, and with able teachers and theoretically an admirable system, there was practically but a small acquisition of knowledge." India Civil Service Blue Book, p. 257.

The Indian Civil Service Blue Book furnished me with a preponderating weight of evidence in favour of every special objection which I had made, and I defied the framers of the Statute to shew that this was otherwise. A sound way of bringing Oxford into relation with India was that advocated by Colonel Yule, p. 316; Sir F. J. Halliday, p. 318; and Sir H. Montgomery, p. 319; all three members of the Council of India: and consisting in "selecting some few young men distinguished at the Universities, and having the recommendation of the authorities for admission without further examination into the Civil Service." The selecting agency which I should select would be, as I should propose, p. 17 *infra*, a Final Honour School. But no plan was sound, nor would be permanent, which not merely ignored but contravened readily accessible data and evidence, and which entailed the doing of injustice, not merely to Scotland and Ireland, but to our own requirements, and to our own long tried and hardly worked officials here.

As regards the policy of paying the expenses of selected Candidates, it might not be our business to talk about that. But it might be well to note what an entire reversal it was of the old plan of paying a man when he had proved himself to be poor; the selected Candidates had proved themselves to be rich, by having paid their so-called "examiners." The old plan was a very bad one, as it made a man prove himself to be the thing he most abhorred in a country where<sup>d</sup> poverty was infamous; but the new one was not much better in a country which was daily becoming more plutocratic. It would be a treat to hear Mr. Robert Lowe upon this little arrangement; he would probably by this time have got disillusioned as to the foolish imagination that

<sup>d</sup> For plain words on this point, see the Hon. A. Eden, Blue Book, p. 217, par. 9.

Competitive Examinations were the birthright of the rich; he would simply have to deal with the general philosophy of men's motives; he would not therefore in this matter be liable to those slips as to matters of fact which sometimes laid him open to attacks and objectors; and it would be a fine subject whereupon to address his present constituents. *En attendant* it was interesting to note what the Scotch, who had till lately considered India as their own peculiar province, had been saying to the Secretary of India upon this proposal. This might be seen in an account of the reception by Lord Salisbury of a large and influential Deputation from the Scottish Universities, accompanied by Dean Stanley, Lord Elgin, and Mr. W. E. Forster, which they might see in the *Daily News* of Friday, May 18, or *Times*, Saturday, May 19. The Scotch had taken very quietly the spoiling of their good primary Schools, which concerned only the poor; whether they would take as quietly the ousting of their rich youths from these Indian careers<sup>e</sup>, might perhaps be doubted.

It was surely the policy of the University not to make arrangements entailing permanent outlay, except for activities which might be likely themselves to be permanent. Such an activity the teaching of the classical languages and literatures of India might be; many persons had assured us they were as good as Greek and Latin, the old Mediterranean "classics" *par excellence*; the illiterate vernaculars had no claims upon them, either as regarded their short past history, their passing present, or their problematical future.

The Universities had formerly been unfairly handicapped as against the rest of the world, by the regulations of the Civil Service Commissioners, (see *e.g.* p. 274—286, Blue

<sup>e</sup> Some hints upon this point may be found at pages 196, 212, 221, 266, 277, 291, of the Indian Blue Book.



Book;) our ears<sup>f</sup> were filled with the complaints of our own men, who were the very men—

καὶ τραφέντες ἐν παλαίστραις καὶ χοροῖς καὶ μουσικῇ—  
whom India was asking for, as to their being unfairly treated; it was now proposed, in the way of remedy I supposed, to proteet the Universities unfairly, κακῶ κακὸν ἰᾶσθαι. Suppose for a ehange we were to have a little fair dealing; and to begin with, a little fair dealing with the facts of the case, a little more examination than even the Civil Serviee Commissioners asked for, but an additional examination, not of the men who were too much, but of the facts that were too little, examined.

There was no great hurry in the business; the new regulations would not come into foree till July 1878; if 20 Indian seleected Candidates did contrive to escape our net this year, we had still plenty to do with the management of the 2,600 Undergraduates who had come to us of their own free will.

<sup>f</sup> Complaints as to breaches of faith by the Indian Government, and allusions to the existence of a general impression of the nature of disillusionment as to the prospects afforded by an Indian career, may be found in many places in the Blue Book; *e.g.* pp. 86, 121, 136, 156, 160, 181, 200, 202, 202, 214, 216, 271, 272, 273, 277, 286, 294.

I will quote one of these passages, *in extenso*, from the very valuable evidence of Mr. H. G. M. James, p. 286.

“The emoluments now are much less profitable than they were even 15 years ago; and there is a tendency to curtail them every day. If young men learn in England that the hopes held out to them of getting good appointments in a reasonable time are delusive, and that a successful candidate has to wait on many weary years drawing a mere pittance, the standard of candidates will rapidly and unmistakeably decline, and of what use then will be the most elaborate rules as to age, examinations, and training at home.”

I find that in India some of the more highly placed officials are of opinion that, after all, better work is to be got out of a contented than a discontented public servant, and that a man does not, in that country, labour the more heartily because he thinks that a Government has broken faith with him in the past, and suspects him of being likely to break faith with it in the future. I was surprised at this.



Having gone through this Blue Book, no such easy task, as it had neither table of contents, nor index, nor even many headings, I would say that with the exception of the stay-at-home Civil Service Commissioners, there was an all-but universal consensus of opinion against teaching the "illiterate vernaculars," as Dr. Pusey had called the Bengali, Marathi, Gujarathi, Telugu, and Tamil of India, at all in Europe. As regards the value of the opinions and regulations of the Civil Service Commissioners, an interesting story was told by Mr. Lee-Warner, p. 288, *l. c.* to the following effect: "In 1867 the Commissioners added a language called Braj Bhakha to their curriculum, which was introduced to their notice by a Mr. Syed Abdoolla, as far as my recollection serves me, and which is not spoken, and never was spoken, in any part of India. From the Fourteenth Report of Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners, Appendix 4, page 463, I find that out of 47 successful candidates ten took up Braj Bhakha<sup>g</sup>." What a story for the next edition of Mr. Herbert Spencer's Essays! It would be difficult, I wish it was not impossible, for a greater blunder than this to be made even on "Indian subjects."

Now as regards the evidence as to the Indian vernaculars. It shewed clearly two things: first, in the words of Mr. Lee-Warner, *l. c.*, that all attempts to learn the Vernaculars in England should be discouraged, and to this effect we have evidence from the well-known and eminent Indian Statesmen, Lord Northbrook, p. 229, lately Viceroy of India; Sir Erskine Perry, p. 312, Governor of Bombay; Sir Richard Temple, p. 56, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal; the Hon. A. Eden, p. 218; and the Hon. A. Rogers, p. 263: and secondly, that when the right place, India,

<sup>g</sup> Other instances of the wisdom which has guided and the beneficial results which have followed upon the legislation and advice of these gentlemen, may be found in the evidence given by Mr. James, p. 284—287.

was chosen, the requisite time would be very short indeed, whatever had been or might be said by those who had preceded or would follow me in the debate. Sir E. Perry, p. 312, who informs us that learned Germans with the profoundest book knowledge of Indian languages sometimes arrive in India and are unable to make themselves intelligible to natives in a single sentence, and who says that the English as a race are not good linguists, gives a longer period as necessary for learning the requisite vernacular than any other authority, and this period is *from six to nine months*. Sir W. Muir, p. 221, gives the shortest period I have noted in the following words: "What is laboriously learned in two years at home, can be acquired with incomparably greater ease and accuracy *in a few weeks in this country*" (India). *Two months*, p. 252, is the period Mr. A. J. Stewart speaks of; *three months*, Mr. E. Stack, p. 92, speaks of as necessary *in London* to enable the candidates to make a beginning in the new language; the difficulties of which Mr. Robert Smeaton, p. 99, assures us are "very inconsiderable, owing to their simplicity." Thirdly, though the Indian authorities differed on almost every other point, they were all but entirely unanimous as to the wastefulness and uselessness of attempting to learn the vernacular languages in this country. As regarded Telugu and Tamil, they were with two exceptions, (Mr. Lyall, p. 206, and Mr. Winterbottom, p. 254,) absolutely unanimous; as regarded Hindustani, a few names, those of the Hon. Sir A. J. Arbuthnot, p. 223, and of Sir A. Clarke, p. 239, Sir W. Muir, p. 222, and Sir H. W. Norman, p. 239, who defer to Sir A. Arbuthnot's authority, may be cited as favourable to making it compulsory. But the main reason for this appeared to be as per evidence, pp. 193 and 224, that Hindustani was becoming the *lingua franca* of India, and rendering Tamil and Telugu unnecessary

even in the Madras Presidency. This made the case against these two "illiterate vernaculars" even more overwhelming. But further, let Congregation note that the Governor of Madras, p. 242, told them there were only 103 men selected under the new system in the fifteen years 1860—1874 now on the rolls of the Junior Madras Service; and that of the last 52 elected between 1864 and 1874, only 17 were University men of any United Kingdom University. I can scarcely believe that these figures and numbers can have been before the eyes of the framers of the Statute. Professor Monier Williams' words, May 14, 1875, "Let us take care that in making our arrangements to provide Teachers the number of Students does not disappoint us," were indeed words of Indian wisdom, but they had been as little regarded as all the other utterances referred to<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>h</sup> Evidence against attempting to teach the Indian Vernaculars in Great Britain or Ireland is given by the subjoined authorities at the appended pages of the Blue Book, Civil Service of India, the Selection and Training of Candidates for the Indian Civil Service, London, 1876:—

Lord Northbrook, p. 229.  
 Sir P. H. Wodehouse, p. 264.  
 Sir E. Perry, p. 312.  
 Sir W. Muir, p. 221.  
 H. G. Turner, Esq. p. 193.  
 Sir Richard Temple, p. 56.  
 R. Smeaton, Esq. p. 99.  
 A. MacMillan, Esq. p. 101.  
 C. G. Kemball, Esq. p. 271.  
 F. Henvey, Esq. p. 209.  
 C. U. Aitchison, Esq. p. 210.  
 R. B. Chapman, Esq. p. 210.  
 T. F. Chichele Plowden, Esq. p. 212.  
 Hon. A. Eden, p. 218.  
 Hon. A. Rogers, p. 263.

Evidence to the effect that "if the pupils are compulsorily located at Oxford, it may be accepted as an axiom that the teachers (of Tamil and Telugu) will soon follow," is given by

E. J. Sinkinson, Esq. p. 179.  
 H. E. Stokes, Esq. p. 248.  
 W. H. Smith, Esq. D.C.L. p. 88.  
 D. C. Ibbetson, Esq. p. 150.

I could not but think that the sensible, not to say obvious, course for the University to take would be to establish a School of Oriental Studies, literary and legal, which should stand in the same relation to Moderations and Responsions as any and every other Final School did, and should, like them, qualify for the B.A. Degree. A certain amount of expense would be incurred by the University in furnishing teaching, not of one or two illiterate<sup>1</sup> vernacular languages, which, as such, were useless for

<sup>1</sup> Professor Monier Williams gave in Congregation, and, I am informed, elsewhere, a flat contradiction to the statement which I made in opposition to the Statute for the appointment of a Teacher of Telugu, to the effect that this and the allied vernaculars of India have either no literature, or a worthless, or a borrowed one. He did not add, at least in Congregation, that this statement of mine was based upon the almost universal consensus of authorities upon the subject; he did not specify the names or character of any of the original compositions, which must exist if his statement is to be justified; and he did not explain how it had been that he had let this very statement pass unchallenged when he wrote his answer, May 28, 1875, to Dr. Pusey's letter, in which it occupies a prominent place.

In support of my statement I can bring forward a mass of evidence, beginning with the famous British Association Meeting held here in 1847, and attended by Bunsen and Prichard, and ending with the appearance of the second edition of Bishop Caldwell's *Dravidian Grammar* in 1875. In the Report of that British Association Meeting, at p. 349, Professor Max Müller writes thus of the Brahminical people: "It appears that after having introduced Brahminical institutions, laws, and religion, especially along the two coasts of the sea, they did not pretend to impose their language upon the much more numerous inhabitants of the Dekkan, but that they followed the wiser policy of adopting themselves the language of the aboriginal people, and of conveying through its medium their knowledge and instruction to the minds of uncivilized tribes. In this way they refined the rude language of the earlier inhabitants, and brought it to a perfection which rivals even the Sanskrit. By these mutual concessions a much more favourable assimilation took place between the Arian and aboriginal race; and the South of India became afterwards the last refuge of Brahminical Science, when it was banished from the North by the intolerant Mahomedans." These words are endorsed and quoted by Bishop Caldwell, at p. 115 of his splendid *Grammar* (2nd edition, 1875), the pleasure of studying which has been to me something of a compensation for the *désagréments* of this controversy. As the Dravidians followed the



purposes of culture, but of the three great Classical Languages which gave us a key to history social as well

lead of the Aryans, so, with, as far as my knowledge goes, one exception, have subsequent writers followed the lead of Max Müller down to the time of Bishop Caldwell, whose views I will hereafter give in detail. Prichard, for example, *Natural History of Man*, book ii. chap. 10, p. 249, ed. Norris, 1855, says, "The literature, arts, religion, and peculiar civilization of the Dekkan, are Indian or Brahminical." Professor Wilson, it is well known, held the same views; and they are stated with perfect plainness in the valuable article "Hindustan," in McCulloch's Dictionary, 1854, p. 1000. Mr. Curzon, writing in 1856 in the sixteenth volume of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 193, a volume which contains papers by the late Professor Wilson, Colonel Sykes, Captain Newbold, Mr. E. Norris, and Professor Wright, says: "We find that every work in Tamil, as well as in Telugu, Canarese, and other cognate dialects, whether on grammar, law, medicine, religious or poetical subjects, bears the stamp of a comparatively modern Hinduism. There is nothing in the shape of a record of the Tamil mind, which can recall to us anything independent of an obvious Sanskrit origin."

Though I have taken great interest in the Præaryan races of India for many years, I have never yet had even the few months of leisure which the Indian authorities above quoted assure us is all that is necessary for mastering one of these vernaculars; still I will venture to offer a suggestion or two in support of my own position. My suggestions can only be based upon general considerations; but, general considerations, if they rest upon actual probabilities, are at least as valuable as specific contradictions without any support whatever. Firstly, then, if we take a map and look at the names of some of the places, such as Cape Comorin, Ceylon, and Madura, which places would be considered Dravidian, and even Tamil *par excellence*, we observe that these names are one and all, even the last, the name of the site of the Tamil "Institute," Sanskrit derivatives. And I submit, that when one race has so thoroughly permeated a country as to have the various districts called by names of its own importation, that country is little likely to witness a revival or an origination of any literature of any earlier indigenous race. Oxford and Cambridge are only half Saxon names; still, when we see a real Celtic revival, it will be at some place with a name like Aberystwith. The names of places, I do not say of rivers, in England are nearly all either Saxon or Danish; such is her language, such is her literature.

Secondly, if we ought to judge of what we do not see by what we do see, I submit that the state of culture in which the Gonds now are may with some probability be taken as a fair indication of what other Dravidian races were, when they first came into relation with



as political, and which could be studied as literatures no less than as philologies, to wit, Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit;

the Aryans, whom Bishop Caldwell assures us, p. 118, they were centuries behind, and whom they revered as instructors and obeyed as overseers. The commencement of Dravidian civilization may date as far back as the 6th or 7th century B.C. And to judge of this prehistoric period let us look at what is passing under our eyes in the case of the still not wholly civilized Gonds. And of them I read in Professor David Duncan's account of them, in Mr. H. Spencer's *Descriptive Sociology*, Oct. 1876, Div. i. Part 3 A., that their literature consists of "rude rhythmical poetry, recited at feasts by bards to the music of the guitar. One piece (Saint Lingo), containing about 1000 lines, professes to give an account of the creation of the Gonds. *It is saturated with Hinduism, and has probably grown up since the Gonds began to be Hinduized.*" It is often difficult even in a European literature to be quite sure what is original and what is borrowed; it is much more difficult in such a case as that of Tamil literature; and it is fortunate that we have before us the facts of development furnished to us by the Gonds to guide us, as such facts so often do, to the real morphology of the completed organism.

It may now be time to hear what we may learn from Bishop Caldwell as to the "literature" of Telugu, to which dialect the Council by a curious infelicity has given a precedence over Tamil. Of this literature I find it stated, p. 123, that "the great standard of Telugu poetry" is considered to be Nannaya's translation of the *Mahâ-bhârata*; which appears to me to be much as it would be with us, if Pope's *Homer* or Cary's *Dante* were our great standard of poetry. As regards Tamil, the case is, according to Bishop Caldwell, pp. 52, 129, rather stronger, though the Council appear to have thought it weaker, than it is for Telugu. Of the "compositions that are universally admitted to be the finest in the language, viz. the *Kural* and the *Chintâmani*," Bishop Caldwell says, p. 52, in opposition to Professor Wilson, "that they are perfectly independent of Sanskrit, and original in design as well as in execution." I cannot however reconcile this statement, in so far as the *Kural* is concerned, with the Bishop's statements at pp. 130—131, as to the influence of the "theosophy of the early *Vedânta* and the mythology of the *Mahâ-bhârata*," and as to the Jainism of the Tamil country being "in the process of development out of the older Hinduism;" at any rate, Bishop Caldwell says, with reference to the *Kural* and the *Chintâmani* both, p. 128, "If I attempt to throw some light on the age of the principal Tamil works, I hope it may be borne in mind, that in my opinion, almost the only thing that is perfectly certain in relation to those works is that they exist." Now I submit that the date of a composition must be settled before we assign it, as is sometimes very

as also possibly of some other subjects. In return for and in consideration of this outlay, the Indian Government might reasonably be asked to give appointments to any First or Second Classman in that School<sup>k</sup>. This would be a reasonable, just, practical plan, based on a consideration of the evidence and requirements of the case, and likely to be permanent; none of which things could be said of any one of the Statutes now laid before them.

rashly done, a priority over other compositions and an absolute originality; and most of all is it necessary to do this in a country which has been successively in contact with Phœnician and Greek, to say nothing of other forms of intellectual life, and where some of the works attributed to one of their reputedly most ancient writers, Agastya, consist of "a mystical compound of monotheism, quietism, and alchemy, with a tinge of Christianity." Some of this Christianity, and some of the ethical maxims which have been considered (as by Peschel citing Graul, *Bibliotheca Tamulica cit. Volkerkunde*, 1874, p. 485, the one exception I have already alluded to) as being eminently Tamilic, must have been very late indeed. For one of the "ethical apophthegms" runs thus: "As the turkey that had seen the forest peacock dance, fancied himself to be also a peacock, and spread his ugly wings and strutted, so is the poetry which is recited by a conceited dunce." As Bishop Caldwell has often remarked to Native Scholars, see p. 137, the allusion to the turkey proves that the composition is later in date than the discovery of America. But the Native Scholars refuse to give up their belief in their Native Literature.

I have not forgotten the golden words of Max Müller, *l.c.*, p. 350: "There is more indeed to be read in human language itself than in anything that has been written in it." If I had, Bishop Caldwell's Grammar would have awakened me to the recognition of this principle. It may be right, I incline to think it is, to have a Professorship of the Dravidian Languages and their Comparative Philology, as they are spoken by no less than 45 millions of men, with a due, or at least decent, salary for the Professor, who should have sufficient leisure allowed him to make himself a master of and an authority in this large field; but such a post is a very different one from our proposed Teachership of Telugu.

<sup>k</sup> When I consider what the future of such Indian industries as those concerned with Cinchona, Jute, Tea, Cotton, and other vegetable, as well as many mineral, products may be, (for which see *The Times*, Wednesday, April 4, 1877,) I am tempted to suggest that Botany and Mineralogy might be taken as alternative subjects to Indian Law. Perhaps a First or Second Class in Natural Science might be taken as qualifying a candidate for the Indian Civil Service.